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large discs of brass wire (*tast*, pl. *tatit*), which are hung from the ears by leather straps (*muikto*; N. *monito*), to which are frequently fastened one or two cowries (*sekeriek*; N. *sekerek*) (Text-fig. 18). These ear-rings are, as among the Nandi, the sign of marriage. Girls wear skins (*sluriet*) or cloth (*sugut*). They have armlets (*kurik*, N.) and leglets (*sdapalwet*; N. *tapalwet*) of iron-wire, and necklaces of wire or beads (*sningoit*). The edges of skin garments, both of men and women, are generally trimmed and stitched.

Mutilations of the Body.

304 (a) *Ears.*—In both sexes a small hole (*ongdoriè*; *Kony ingdoriè*) is bored in the top of the ear. This among the Nandi is the tribal mark, and it seems to be so among the Dorobo. Both sexes also pierce the lobes of the ears, and elongate them by inserting cylindrical blocks of wood (*kutik ap tiñik*, N.), as among the Nandi.

[301] Ear-rings are hung from the lobes, which in the case of men are often broken by being caught by branches in the forest.

(b) *Teeth.*—Some Dorobo remove the two middle incisors of the lower jaw, like the Nandi and other tribes; others do not. This is done, they say, "*si ko kwanen-it pirik*" (in order that people may become beautiful).

(c) *Sexual Organs.*—Circumcision and clitoridectomy are practised. (See V, "Circumcision.")

Hair.

302 Men wear their hair moderately long; they put oil and red clay (*ngorut*, N.) on the hair, which sometimes becomes matted, as seen often on Nandi, particularly women. The head is shaved periodically. Boys put red clay and oil on to the shaved head. Both old men and senior warriors wear beards and moustaches, though to no greater extent than the Nandi. In some old men the beard is seen trimmed and pointed. Girls and women shave their heads periodically, and put oil on the shaved heads.

Paint.

Warriors paint their legs with red and white clay, as do the Nandi; they also put red clay on their heads.

Arts and Crafts.

325 [439] The Dorobo have few crafts of their own. They have no knowledge of metallurgy, and there are no smiths; all their ironwork is obtained from the Nandi.

(a) Weapons of Chase and War.

411 These consist of bows (*kogelyôn*), arrows (*kitiot*, *kipartuit*, *kipaldjamit*, N.; and *ndoratit*); spears (*ndamandait?* or *mamandait?*); swords (*mandito*; or *ratuet*, N.); shields (*kokyet*, N.); and knives (*ndambulwet*, N.). Spears, swords, and shields are obtained from the Nandi.

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together. The ribs is made of a single stick bent in an oval and the ends bound together; across it are fastened pieces of tree-rope.[1] Ornithimmus (Gothe, K.) have already been mentioned.

The Dorobo have no knowledge of metallurgy, and they have no musical instruments, pottery, or, apparently, objects of ivory. Metal-work and pottery they buy from the Nandi.[2]

Trade and Commerce.

Trade is by barter. The Dorobo give the Nandi hydrate, dressed skins, and honey in exchange for ironwork, tobacco, pottery, beads, and other commodities which they cannot produce themselves. There are no special market-places, but goods are taken to any place where there are Nandi, and there exchanged.

Land.

(i) *Tenure.*—The forest is divided by the elders into sections, and each family has its own section of forest. The boundaries between family holdings may be paths or rivers.

(ii) *Geographical Divisions.*—The Dorobo divide their country into divisions called *kwet*, pl. *kwenuik* (K.). The chief divisions appear to be called Kiptorosa, Sirua, Kimoriongo, Sumiyo (location, K. *sisut*), and Mokogitik. The majority of the present place-names are Nandi.

The points of the compass are called as follows:—North and South: Muren (K.); East: Tu-tuwet (K. *ulu-duwet* = up). West: Tu'tuk-tu (= where the sun) *kumenda-tiktiet*).

III.—Government.

The Kimalilo Kikyakpkondi Dorobo have now no chief. The last to hold office was Parkyiroy[3] arap Ngondigen, who was chief at the time of the Nandi Punitive Expedition, 1905. He is still alive, though he no longer holds office. The chief was elected, and the office was not hereditary. The chief (*kiruogindoi* (K.)=councillor) was chosen for "*kipkyopta bibin*" ("tongue only" = sense, ability and position). The only form of Government that exists now is a council of elders (*kiruogen ap petinik*, K.), who meet and decide on matters which are brought to them. They seem to have little power of enforcing obedience to their decisions, though they claim

[1] This is described and illustrated, although it is a Nandi one, above (K.K. does not mention it).

[2] On the use of bows, see G., "Miscellaneous." These are hardly to considered as instruments of music.

[3] K. = Son-killer.

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The Dorobo divide the year into two parts, *Mwaisowik*, the dry season, when they used to go hunting the bigger game with, bow and arrow; and *Iwet*, the wet season, when they set traps. Each season covers roughly half the year, the rain beginning to fall in September and getting low and low till January, and then starting to work up again in March, reaching its peak about May; so that *Mwaisowik* comprises our months of October to March, and *Iwet*, April to September. The Dorobo have twelve months, all but two having the same names as the Nandi months, but they do not synchronize[1]:

Dorobo names:	Nandi names:		
Kipsiroo	*Kipsunde*	October	
Kipsunde	*Kipsunde aiyo*	November	
Kipsunde ale	*Waliel*	December	*Mwaisowik*
Waliel	*Ngetiet* *	January	
Ngetiet *	*Kipsiwo*	February	
Kipsiwo	*Iyot Iwo*	March	
Iyot Iwo	*Waliel*	April	
Waliel	*Ngo* *	May	
Kiwosi	*Kip no*	June	*Iwet*
Kip no	*Pund*	July	
Pundo	*Kipsa*	August	
Ngosik	*Waliel aiyo*	September	

The average rainfall at Kapsiwowa Farm, about two miles below the edge of the forest for the years 1929 to 1937 was 54.69 inches, the maximum being 91.17, the minimum 29.41. Details are given in the Appendix. In the forest itself I think the rainfall is undoubtedly a little higher, perhaps amounting to another 5.0 ins. in the course of an average year.

The Dorobo seem to have a better weather sense than the Nandi, and I found that they were generally accurate when making a forecast, whereas the Nandi are usually wrong when they try to forecast the weather. This weather sense is perhaps one of the reasons for their reputation among other tribes as rainmakers; for these Dorobo not only say that they have no rain-makers, but I could find no trace whatever of rainmaking activities, nor any hint that they ever had any. Climatic conditions are such, however, that in a hunting economy rainmaking is not a necessity.

The environment of the Dorobo provides them with food, skins, wood, and other vegetable materials. Iron they had not, and they still have no knowledge of ironworking, though they use iron implements. Their activities comprised hunting, trapping, food-gathering, hut-building, the production of honey, and the making of objects of wood, leather, and grass, such as traps, arrow-shafts, bows, honey-barrels, clothing, rope, baskets, and bundles for loads. Objects of iron they have got for as far back as they can remember from the Nandi by exchange for such things as they can make or produce themselves.

[1] Throughout this paper I have written the roots used by the age a, representing the 'long-rolled o', by words marked * the first consonant in the roots used.

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intravenously by wholesale rape rather than transfused by peaceful penetration, raised a type of humankind (some of the tribes we have with us today) inferior to themselves. There is very little to general principle common to these two views except that the Dorobo, if it interests them, can claim some small degree of aboriginality in both.

64. Dr. L.S.B. Leakey told the Land Commission:-

"... there are Dorobo and Dorobo. There are Dorobo who are the nucleus of the Dorobo and are a tribe quite distinct from anything I know in this country. They speak a language which I have completely failed to connect up with any of the languages spoken by the other tribes here. There are two or three families living on the Mau today. Round that area you have deserters from Masai, Kikuyu, Nandi, Lumbwa, and all sorts of other people. You thus come across a mixed Dorobo people who have left their tribes and become Dorobo in the wide sense. Up behind Kijabe there are innumerable families, half true Dorobo and half Kikuyu .... They call themselves Kikuyu, but live like Dorobo ..."

65. Modern Kikuyu opinion among the older men is that the Dorobo, though legends suggest a remote relationship with the Kikuyu as well as others, were a separate tribe, speaking a language of their own, who subsequently became mixed up with other people who adopted their way of life. Some identify them with the Il-Kunono of the Masai, but the Dorobo of Kaimia repudiate this and point out that there were no smiths among them and that they bought their spears and iron implements from the Masai and, later on, the Kikuyu. Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, however, regards the Dorobo as a Kikuyu-Gumba blend. In Facing Mount Kenya he writes:

"... soon after the Gumba had disappeared as a race, there came into being another race of hunters known as Ndorobo or Aathi, who seemed to have grown like mushrooms in the forests.

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and by personal ability, and therefore to some extent by their geographical setting. They have no iron ore, no metallurgic knowledge, and so all ironwork is imported from the Dondi. Tobacco, which they like, is not grown on yet, and this too must be obtained from the Dondi. There is a regular exchange of honey, skins, and baskets, for arrowheads, knives, tobacco, seeds, pottery, etc., and a scale of exchange values has come into existence:

1 arrow head is given for a gourd of honey.
1 bundle of tobacco is given for a bag of honey.
1 large pot is given for a large bushbuck skin.
1 small pot is given for a duiker skin.
1 basketful of meal for one basket.

Sometimes personal services are given, e.g. a day's weeding in the sweet potatoes for one knife.

Cattle are obtained from the Dondi, to a limited extent, by a system of gift exchange for iron. The Nandi make friends with the Dondo chiefly for the purpose of getting honey, and the Dondo will give some to his Nandi friend without expectation of an immediate return. Presently the Nandi gives the Dondo a goat, and this exchange of gifts paves the way for further and more important transactions: eventually the Dondo offers his friend a fat cloak for an ox, as e.g. my friend Arap Mitoiy acquired one from a Nandi called Kapkilo ar Ollomo; he also got another in exchange for 7 goats, which he bought out of his wages for working on a farm.

C. Techniques

1. Hunting

The dry weather, *ameinondi*, is the shooting season, and the wet weather, *tinet*, is the time for trapping. The weapon is the bow and arrow (spears are not used by the Kapchepkendi Dondo), and the hunters use dogs.

In wet weather buck are caught in traps. In the dry season, while pig of various kinds[1] were

[1] Bushbuck is about 12 hh. deep and 3 hh. wide; it sometimes attains twice as much bulk as a goat. A duiker (Sylvicapra) is about 2 hh. deep and 4½ hh. wide at the hip.
[2] Giant, the wart-hog (Phacochoerus aethiopicus) and Ituren, the giant hog or bush-pig (Hylochoerus meinertzhageni).

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with fat several times. It is heat over the fire. The string is plaited together, running out beautiful, out of short animal tendons and is extended by further interweaving up to the required length. The projecting starting-ends of the individual pieces of tendon are neatly cut off, whereupon one then rubs the now finished bowstring with some fat.

The arrow shaft (Fig. 54) is carved out of a dry wooden stick, first rounded, then smoothed by scraping. The upper end is wound with tendons that have been coated with the varnishlike juice of a not yet described species of plantlike leaves as *dirr*, whereupon, on top, one drills in the one- /302/ /Figs. 53 and 54 appear here/ centimeter-long hole for the tang of the arrow by a twirling motion with a thin wooden chisel. At the lower end the three-part feathering -- any of the feathers of the carrion vulture (*Neophron percnopterus*) -- is fine fastened on by being wrapped with a very fine bast thread and then glued fast with the plantlike juice just mentioned. Another wrapping of animal tendons is found between the feathering and the rear notch for the bowstring, in order to prevent a splitting of the shaft.

The people buy the iron points only if a point breaks off /303/ do they as a rule forge a new one for themselves. Clubs are carved from a piece of wood, as among the Mimi. They buy the spears, of which there are one or more in almost every camp, from the blacksmiths of the Mimi. The spears serve as weapons only in the camp, where shooting with arrows is not permitted, on account of the danger connected with that, since they are always poisoned. The Ask for the most part buy wooden bowls and gourd bottles from neighboring tribes. On the other hand, in some places they plait shallow baskets, which they use for storing food.

The fact that the Wandorobbo do not play the board game so popular among the Mimi was explained to me by them with the words "During the game we would forget to hunt and then, with our families, would have to starve."

With the coming of darkness complete stillness as a rule covers over the camps, quiet even during the day; the day's work is done and everyone goes to his hut. Only on moonlit evenings do the old people often sit in the open for a few hours, talking, with a good bottle of honey beer, while the young men and girls dance and in their falsetto sing ring out through the still night, from

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